*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-tamo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.
*197
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86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulōu. Makuchi (Williams) pə-reu.
Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *upalari. Taurepan, ʉpalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waĩbakasi.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai?. Taurepan kura?, Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa?.
97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa?.
98. Quiver for darts — mōi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimui?.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa. Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).

[177]

*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoi?.
*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba. also kunoi? yeba.
● 227 104. Fish-trap — muroi?.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛ?.[48]
Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):
106. *iru?. Taurepan, kari?, but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes eami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

[48] [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 — Analyst]

The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. 'pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-də.

The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

b. Fire and food.

108. 'Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kako: for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. 'Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulũ-kulũ. Makuchi (Williams), kəri-kəri, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kõlõ-kõlõ. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulũ-kulũ. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (kũlũ-kũlũ). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. 'Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. 'Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apo'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("uapoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

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Kamarakoto

Fig. 9 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [242] [423] 72 [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

●227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi[v] in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʾ, is used only for scooping [283] out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18 B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iruʾ (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʾ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroiʾ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tɨmoʾ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "barbasco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different [829] poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is inéʾ.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, [476] bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 116 - Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 136]

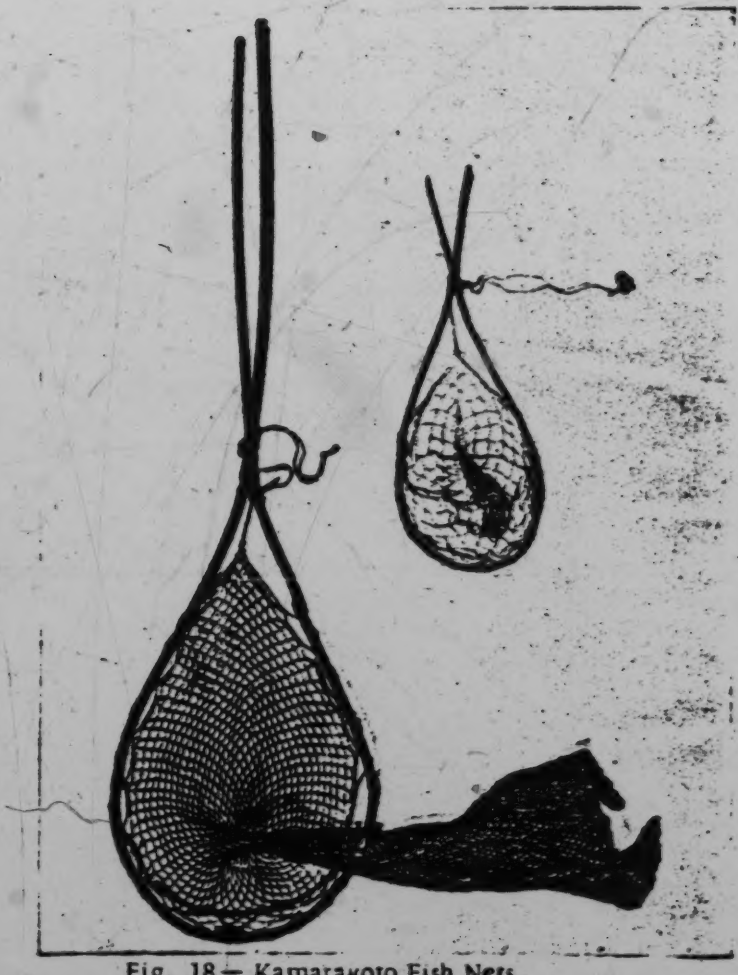

Fig. 18 — Kamarakoto Fish Nets.
A. iru[3]. B. pendə (tied to end of pole for use).

286 There are several variations, but the basic technique underlying all of them is as follows: To start, an ordinary chain, as in knitting, is made. The needle is inserted through a loop in the chain and a small loop of thread pulled through. A second similar loop is then pulled through the next loop of the chain and then this is pulled through the first loop (using the fingers now, not the needle) and the first loop is tightened on this by pulling on the proper place (Fig. 44). A third loop is then made and passed through the second, and so on. The next row is made by looping through the first, just as the first was looped through the initial chain.

[301] This technique is used in making armlets and leglets, crocheting continuously around the limb so that a tube is produced. This is made on the limb
[293] and cannot be removed without destroying it. The most interesting and elegant use of the technique, however, is to make purses or carrying bags, pakara, which are carried by the men although, like all cotton work, made by the women. In this case the initial chain becomes the bottom of the bag and it is left straight so that the first row instead of beginning at the first end of the chain and making an open circle begins at the far end (last one made) and is carried around both sides of the chain, which thus forms a closed, straight end of the knitted cylinder, which in this case is flattened, not really cylindrical.[145] At the other, open, end of the cylinder a flat, triangular flap cover is produced by doubling back on each row, making each shorter than the last. This produces a ribbed pattern not unlike that of the old-fashioned ribbed stockings but with the ribs running across the working edge, not at right angles to it, and the effect is quite different from that of the smooth surface of the cylinder where the crocheting is always in the same direction. In order to support the cylinder while under construction (as the leg or arm does in crocheting bands on them) it is made around a smooth piece of wood of the size and shape of the inside of the purse.

A length of string, usually ending in a tassel, is left at the point of the flap and wrapped around the purse to close it, and a woven carrying band, to slip over the shoulder, is sewed to the sides of the purse.

● [227] The last type of common thread textile is netting, usually made by the men from curagua thread. These nets, used only for fishing (which see), are made with very open square meshes. Several simple knots are used, of which the two in widest use are shown in Fig. 45. A peculiarity common to all of them is that a given thread leaves the knot at right angles to its entrance into it, so that it forms two contiguous sides of a square of the mesh and the mesh is built up by a series of zig-zags. The squares are oblique with respect to the rim of the net, which is thus fabricated on the bias and expands and contracts readily in a vertical direction.

145 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analyst]
[text continues on p. 174]

*285 411 [283] [237] shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usually tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer, by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 227 The last usual type of basketry is the muroi' or fish trap.[159] The general form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 192 197 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call ama:tu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wõrowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	œapa	œ:əpa
	pangai'	pəŋga'
	matu:tu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawa'	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 – Analyst]

237 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event
211 is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipõla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not
238 poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement
237 that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue.
412 Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the
171 Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

● 227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the inɛ' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus
824 densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto inɛ) can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg
[114] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

101 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285 114 ●227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285 252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use ceapa for sifting.

*285 171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.